

Message Text

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FOR THE SECRETARY, NIMETZ, AND VEST

E.O. 11652: XGDS-1

TAGS: PEPR, TU, US

SUBJ: US-TURKISH RELATIONS

1. MFA CYPRUS-GREECE DIRGEN TULUMEN(SWHO SAID HE WAS SPEAKING WITHOUT AUTHROIZATION) AND POL COUNS DISCUSSED THE US-TURKISH IMBROGLIO MARCH 17 AND, AFTER A HEATED INITIAL EXCHANGE, PRODUCED SOME JOINT THOUGHTS ABOUT A REPAIR PROCEDURE THAT I BELIEVE ARE WORTH YOUR CONSIDERATION. THEY TOOK INTO ACCOUNT OUR NEEDS AS WELL AS THESE ASPECTS OF THE TURKISH SITUATION STRESSED BY TULUMEN:

A. THE PRIMARY PROBLEM ON THE GOT SIDE IS TO RESTORE THE US ADMINSTRATION'S CREDIBILITY WITH ECEVTI. IN PARTICULAR, ECEVIT NEEDS HIGH-LEVEL REASSURANCE THAT WE ARE NOT TRYING TO TWIST HIS ARM ON CYPRUS. HE DOES NOT ACCEPT THE DEPARTMENT SPOKESMAN'S STATEMENT AS EQUAL IN WEIGHT TO THE SECRETARY'S WORDS (BECAUSE IN TURKISH PRACTICE, THE MFA SPOKESMAN IS USED DIFFERENTLY FROM OURS.)

B. TURKEY HAS PREPARED, IN TULUMEN'S WORDS, "CYPRUS PROPOSALS THAT GO FARTHER THAN ANYTHING YOU HAVE READ IN THE PRESS--BETTER CONSTITUTIONAL PROPOSALS, A MORE GENEROUS TERRITORIAL OFFER, AND A BETTER ARRANGEMENT ON VAROSHA."

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C. ECEVIT STILL HAS NOT MADE UP HIS MIND ABOUT HOW OR WHEN TO TAKE THE NEXT STEPS IN PUTTING THE PROPOSALS FROWARD. A DECISION MAY BE MADE EARLY THIS WEEK, AND IT COULD WELL BE INFLUENCED BY U.S. ACTION IN THE MEANTIME. ACCORDING TO TULUMEN, UNLESS ECEVIT IS GIVEN SOME BASIS FOR RENEWED CONFIDENCE IN THE ADMINISTRATION, "THE U.S. CAN FORGET ABOUT GETTING THE CYPRUS PROPOSALS BEFORE THE DCA

HEARINGS". TURKEY WOULD, HOWEVER, PROCEED TO GIVE THE GIST OF THE PROPOSALS TO WALDHEIM--BUT JUST BEFORE THE HEARINGS. D. THE DCA'S APPROVAL WOULD BE A BIG POLITICAL GAIN FOR ECEVIT, PROVIDED HE CANNOT BE CRITICIZED FOR ACCEPTING A LINKAGE WITH CYPRUS.

2. TO DEAL WITH THESE FACTORS WHILE ACCOMMODATING THE ADMINISTRATION'S NEEDS, THE SUGGESTION IS THAT THE SECRETARY SEND A PERSONAL, CONFIDENTIAL MESSAGE TO ECEVIT MAKING THESE POINTS:

A. I CONGRATULATE YOU ON THE PEACE-MAKING EFFORT WHICH YOU SET UNDER WAY AT THE MONTREUX SUMMIT. I DO NOT WANT YOUR EFFORT TO SUFFER FROM ANY MISUNDERSTANDING OF US PURPOSES IN RELATION TO IT.

B. THE ADMINISTRATION INTENDS TO SEEK CONGRESSIONAL ENDORSEMENT OF THE US-TURKISH DCA AND WILL GIVE THE DCA ITS VIGOROUS SUPPORT AS SOON AS, IN OUR JUDGEMENT, SUCH SUPPORT CAN BE MOST EFFECTIVE IN CONGRESS.

C. THE ADMINISTRATION CONTINUES TO MAKE NO CONNECTION BETWEEN US-TURKISH RELATIONS AND CYPRUS. WE FULLY APPRECIATE YOUR DETERMINATION TO PRODUCE A GENEROUS PACKAGE OF CYPRUS PROPOSALS. KNOWING OF YOUR EFFORT ON BEHALF OF A SETTLEMENT, WE HAVE HOPED THAT OUR EFFORT IN SECRET

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CONGRESS COULD BE STRENGTHENED THEREBY.

D. IF NECESSARY, I AM PREPARED TO TESTIFY IN CONGRESS ON BEHALF OF THE DCA WITHOUT THE ADDED PERSUASIVENESS THAT WOULD COME FROM MY BEING ABLE TO REFER TO KNOWLEDGE OF THE TURKISH SIDE'S PROPOSALS ON CYPRUS. HOWEVER, I CAN BE LESS OPTIMISTIC ABOUT THE OUTCOME IN THIS CIRCUMSTANCE.

E. OUR PROSPECTS OF SUCCESS IN CONGRESS WOULD BE FAR BETTER IF I HAD A BASIS FOR TESTIFYING ALONG THE FOLLOWING LINES: "ON THE BASIS OF PRIVATE DIPLOMATIC DISCUSSIONS I CAN STATE MY BELIEF THAT THE TURKISH SIDE IS PUTTING FORWARD PROPOSALS FOR A CYPRUS SETTLEMENT THAT REPRESENT A GENUINE AND COMMENDABLE EFFORT TO REACH A COMPROMISE. IT WOULD OF COURSE BE INAPPROPRIATE FOR ME TO COMMENT FURTHER ON THESE PROPOSALS IN ADVANCE OF THE NEGOTIATIONS."

F. IF MY MAKING SUCH A STATEMENT IN TESTIMONY WOULD BE ACCEPTABLE TO YOU, WHAT BASIS FOR THE TESTIMONY WOULD YOU BE WILLING TO PROVIDE?

3. THE QUESTION OF ANY FURTHER PUBLIC STATEMENT BY EITHER

SIDE COULD BE CONSIDERED AFTER THIS MESSAGE HAD MADE ITS IMPACT.

4. COMMENT: TULUMEN IS WELL-ACQUAINTED WITH ECEVIT'S ATTITUDE ON THIS PROBLEM. HE WAS ON ECEVIT'S DELEGATION TO MONTREUX AND HAS BEEN INVOLVED IN POST-SUMMIT WSCUSSIONS WITHIN THE GOT ON THE CYPRUS ISSUE. THUS WHILE HIS WILLINGNESS TO DISCUSS AND ENDORSE THE ABOVE APPROACH DOES NOT GUARANTEE THAT IT WOULD WORK WITH ECEVIT, IT DOES GIVE A GOOD BASIS FOR BELIEVING THAT THE APPROACH HAS AS GOOD A CHANCE AS ANY TO BREAK THROUGH THE CURRENT PSYCHOLOGICAL DEADLOCK. IF WE DO NOT WIN BACK ECEVIT'S COOPERATION, WE ARE STUCK WITH BACKING THE TURKISH CASE WITHOUT TURKEY'S HELP(I.E., THE POSITION DESCRIBED IN SECRET

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2D ABOVE). I BELIEVE THAT A MESSAGE ALONG THE ABOVE LINES SHOULD BE PASSED TO ECEVIT AS SOON AS POSSIBLE, AND PREFERABLY BEFORE THE REPORT THAT HE IS TO MAKE IN PARLIAMENT WEDNESDAY ON THE SUMMIT AND US-TURKISH RELATIONS. SPIERS

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